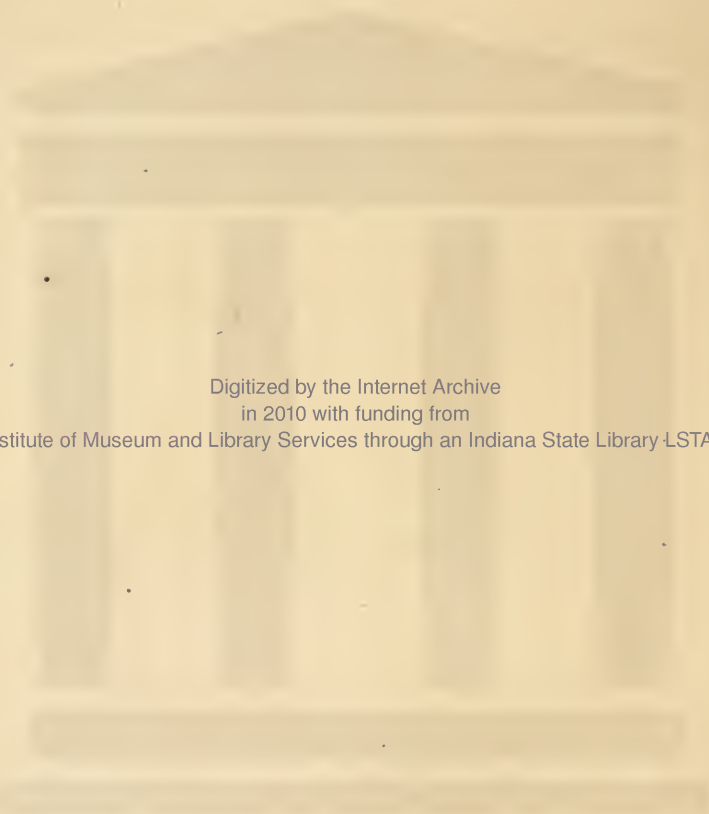


SPEECH
OF THE
HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR,
(POSTMASTER GENERAL,)
ON THE
REVOLUTIONARY SCHEMES
OF THE ULTRA ABOLITIONISTS,
AND IN
DEFENCE OF THE POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT.

DELIVERED AT THE
UNCONDITIONAL UNION MEETING,
HELD AT
ROCKVILLE, MONTGOMERY CO., MARYLAND,
ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1863.

NEW-YORK:
D. W. LEE, STATIONER & PRINTER, 82 NASSAU STREET.

1863.



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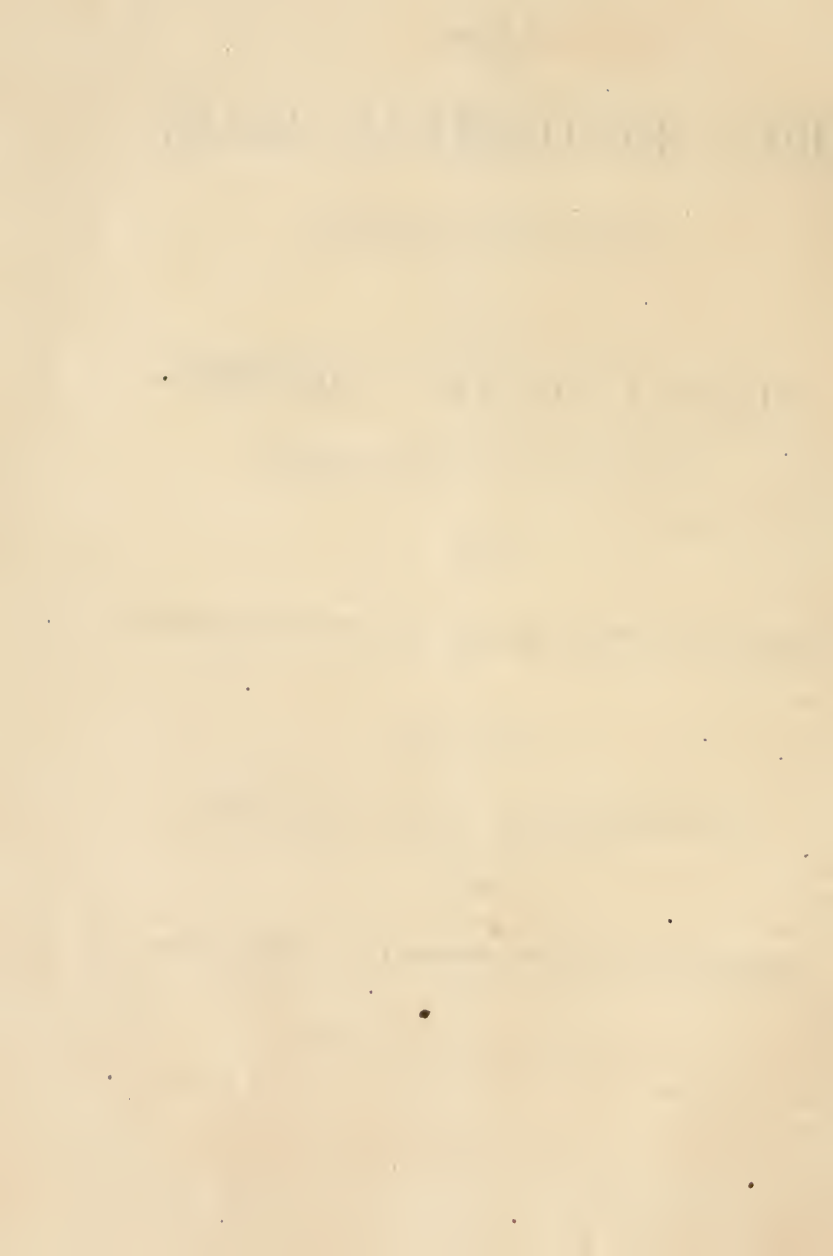
UNCONDITIONAL UNION MEETING,

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ms 23620



SPEECH.

AT the Unconditional Union Meeting held at Rockville, Montgomery County, Maryland, on Saturday, 3d October, 1863, the subjoined speech was delivered by Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR, Postmaster General, in defence of the policy of the President of the United States, and in opposition to the efforts of the ultra Abolitionists to blot out the Southern States and receive them back only as Territories of the Union.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I congratulate you on the hopes justly inspired by the circumstances under which we meet to-day. The progress of our arms gives us good reason for believing that peace will soon be restored to our country, and that when it comes it will be an enduring peace, because obtained by preserving the integrity of the Government, and because it will be followed by the early suppression from our system of the institution of domestic slavery, which occasioned most of the difficulty in the founding of the Government, and has been the only cause which ever seriously endangered its existence.

But, even whilst we are indulging these well-founded hopes that our country is saved from destruction by the rebellion, we are menaced by the ambition of the ultra-Abolitionists, which is equally despotic in its tendencies, and which, if successful, could not fail to be alike fatal to republican institutions. The Slavocrats of the South would found an oligarchy—a sort of feudal power imposing its yoke over all who tilled the earth over which they

reigned as masters. The Abolition party, whilst pronouncing philippics against slavery, seek to make a caste of another color by amalgamating the black element with the free white labor of our land, and so to expand far beyond the present confines of slavery the evil which makes it obnoxious to republican statesmen. And now, when the strength of the traitors who attempted to embody a power out of the interests of slavery to overthrow the Government is seen to fail, they would make the manumission of the slaves the means of infusing their blood into our whole system by blending with it "*amalgamation, equality, and fraternity.*"

The cultivators of the soil must then become a hybrid race, and our Government a hybrid Government, ending as all such unnatural combinations have ever done, in degraded, if not abortive generations, and in making serfdom for the inferior caste—the unmixed blood of the conquering race inevitably asserting a despotism over it. To facilitate this purpose a concerted appeal is now being made to the people of the Free States through the press, to open the way to this daring innovation, beginning in the Southern States, unhappily now brought under the ban of the Calhounite conspirators. With this view it is proposed to declare the State Governments vacated in that section when they are conquered by the Union forces and are restored to the Union, and all the loyal men of the South, whom the treason of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, in complicity with Southern traitors, has subjugated, are to come under absolute submission to the representatives of the Northern States in Congress, without the vestige of a State right, a State law, or a Constitution to protect them—nay, not even the franchise of a vote to send a solitary representative to the legislative body to which their destiny is to be committed.

Simultaneously, three leading organs—the Chronicle at Washington, boasting a sort of official sanction; the Missouri Democrat—the ultra abolisher, of Fremont graft, at St. Louis; the Atlantic Monthly, which lends to the parent stock at Boston all it can boast of literary strength and,

elegance, have struck the key note of the revolution—the sheer abolition of State constitutions in the regions suffering under the rod of the rebellion.

The article in the *Atlantic Monthly* may justly be quoted as the programme of the movement. It presents the issue on which the abolition party has resolved to rest its hopes of setting up its domination in this country. The boldness that marks the announcement of its design to assume for Congress absolute power over the States recovered to the Union, without allowing representation for them in that body, argues much for the confidence of those who never attained an ounce of political weight until they threw themselves into the scale of the Republican party at Chicago, wherein State rights, even the most doubtful one asserting exclusive power over the subject of slavery, were solemnly recognized.

“And now in this discussion,” says the new ukase, *“we are brought to the practical question which is destined to occupy so much of public attention. It is proposed to bring the action of Congress to bear directly upon the rebel States. This may be by the establishment of Provisional Governments under the authority of Congress, or simply by making the admission or recognition of the States depend upon the action of Congress. The essential feature of the proposition is that Congress shall assume jurisdiction of the rebel States.”* One would suppose that “the action of Congress,” had been already brought to bear “directly on the rebel States” by the armies which Congress, has raised and sent against the rebel States; or to use exact language, the States in which the rebels enforce a usurpation over the loyal people.

But it is not over the States in the hands of rebels that the abolition programme proposes to assume jurisdiction, but over the States when wrested from the usurpation of the rebels and in condition to be restored to the control of the loyal people. Against the political and military bodies now exerting the forces of Government in that portion of the United States in which the rebellion reigns for the time triumphant, the Union wages war, but it does

not wage war upon the loyal people, upon the Constitution they recognise—the true Constitution, upon the spirit and forms of their Government, or upon its archives or property. On the contrary, the whole system as part of the Union subsists and is respected by the nation, and only remains in abeyance where the rebels hold sway by force of arms. It is against this rebel organization, against the persons and property, the means and instrumentalities of the rebels, that the United States make war in defence of the loyal men and loyal Government.

The assumption that certain States of the South are extinct—annihilated by the rebellion—and that a Congress, composed of representatives from the States in which the rebellion does not exist, has the right to consider the sister republics where the insurrection for the moment prevails, as dead bodies, to be disposed of as they please when they get possession of them, is abhorrent to every principle on which the Union was founded. No member of the Union, nor of the Government of the whole, can act upon any of the States but in the mode prescribed by the Constitution. They are all bound by it to guarantee to each, a republican form of government, and that is a government adopted by the people; for it is the essence of republican government that it shall emanate from the people of the State.

The Federal Government derives its power from the same source, and it is on the people and through the people that it must act as a nationality, and not upon the States, blotting them out of existence by a supposition, while their constitutions, laws, archives and property, all survive, and a loyal people to give them activity the moment that constraint is thrown off. The abolition programme assumes, on the contrary, that, because violence has trodden down State governments and State rights, they have ceased to exist; that a loyal people in whom they still survive and have being, and to whom the United States stands pledged to guarantee them forever, must also have perished; and that a Congress of the other States may step in and exercise absolute authority over the whole region.

as vacated States and Territories, and legislate for it, founding this new usurpation upon fictions as absurd as those on which the rebellion founds itself.

The abolition programme ascribes all our calamities "to the pestilent pretension of State rights." The discontent with the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, called Jay's treaty, originated "in pestilent State rights." The famous resolutions of Virginia and those of Kentucky, usually known as the Resolutions of '98, sprung from "pestilent State rights." The Missouri controversy about the prohibition of slavery,—the first South Carolina outbreak,—the contest in Congress about abolition petitions,—about the recognition of Hayti,—about Texas,—about the Wilmot proviso,—about the admission of California,—the discussion of the compromise of 1850,—the Kansas question,—"*all this audacity was in the name of State rights!*"

If we except from this aggravated list of charges to "pestilent State rights" the incipient treason of the South Carolina ordinance, there was nothing beyond the wholesome discussions incident to parties in free Governments, in which State rights made resistance to national authority. The denunciation of the party influence derived through appeals to State rights, during this eventful and prosperous period of our history, proves that it proceeds from a party hostile at heart to free debate, and to the canvasses, and the active employment of the checks and balances of our complicated system of National and State Governments, all of which are essential to the vitality of all its parts, and which enables all to take a just share of the power which moves the whole machinery. In their view, our history is a pestilence from Washington's time till this hour, when it is proposed to annihilate State rights as the remedy.

We are told that this is effected *first* by "*State suicide.*" "The States themselves committed suicide, so that as States they ceased to exist, leaving their whole jurisdiction open to the occupation of the United States under the Constitu-

tion." Burke is quoted to make good this position. "When men," says Burke, "therefore break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a State, they are no longer a people. They have no longer a corporate form or existence," &c. The programme adds: "If that great master of eloquence could be heard, who can doubt that he would blast our rebel States as senseless communities who have sacrificed that corporate existence which makes them living component members of our Union of States?"

Burke might blast "the rebel States," but would he blast Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and all the rest of that noble sisterhood of States which, with their loyal people, have in succession been trodden under foot by a military force? Have the people who resisted at the polls, and who still resist in arms, united with their brethren under the flag of the Union wherever it appears, sacrificed that corporate existence which identifies themselves and their States as "*living component members of our Union?*"

Is not the Union and its Constitution identified as "that corporate existence" with the States which makes them all—those trodden down and those standing up—component members of our Union of States? How can the Union, which is the guaranty of the government of every republic of which it consists, admit, whilst it lives, that any part of it is dead? It does not admit it. It is at war in every State of the Union at this moment, co-operating with the loyal in each—entitled to its special sovereignty, to crush the traitors who violate it. As members of the Union, the States assailed by treason may be said to be paralysed, but they live in all their vital powers, ready for resurrection in the persons of their loyal people the moment the stone is rolled away. The traitors only will have committed political suicide.

"The man recovered from the bite:
The dog it was that died."

I allow that "*it is a patent and undisputed fact that this gigantic treason was inaugurated with all the forms of law,*" and "that the States *pretended* to withdraw bodily in their corporate capacities," which is the ground-work of the second proposition of the programme, viz: "That the States by their flagrant treason have forfeited their rights as States so as to be civilly dead." But the Federal Government is very far from admitting that "the forms of law" employed by the rebels, or the fact that "the States pretended to withdraw bodily," affected in the least the legal *status* of the States in question. Treason was committed not by any State, but by the individuals who made use of the forms of the State Governments and attempted to dismember the National Government.

The suggestion that States, guaranteed by the Constitution as under the shield of the Union, can in any way be held responsible for this treason, and subjected to a forfeiture of their rights as a consequence, shows the affinity of the Abolitionists to the Nullifiers. Calhoun's whole scheme was based on the proposition they now adopt, that the States "could withdraw bodily in their corporate capacity." The true doctrine, as laid down by the Fathers of the Constitution, is, that the employment of the forms of the State Governments, and the pretence of withdrawing them in their corporate capacity out of the pale of the national authority, does not shift the responsibility from the traitors to the people.

Hamilton, in the Federalist, marks the change on this point effected by the adoption of the Constitution. He says: "The great and radical vice in the construction of *the existing confederation*, is the principle of legislation for *States* or Governments in their corporate or collective capacities, and as contradistinguished from the *individuals* of whom they consist. He emphasises this proposition in the strongest manner, by the use of capitals, in order to condemn the policy of acting on States instead of criminal individuals. The aim of the Abolitionists is now to accomplish this very thing in defiance of the Constitution.

They demand that Congress shall attach the treason in the South, plotted in secret and sprung upon the nation by a body of oath-bound conspirators, to the embodied people of the whole region, and insist that they have forfeited their rights in their corporate and collective capacities for the treason of these individuals.

It asserts the power of legislation over the States or Governments, instead of applying the law of treason to the guilty individuals to whom alone, in the very nature of things, it is applicable. No learning is necessary to enable one to see that a State cannot be guilty of treason or any other crime: only common sense is wanting to comprehend that guilt cannot be imputed to any but a sentient being; and only common honesty is required to perceive the injustice of disfranchising loyal citizens on account of the offences committed by the disloyal.

But the manifesto I am considering comes at last to the conclusion that these modes of refining the States out of the Union are unsatisfactory. "*I discard (says the writer) all theory, whether it be of State suicide, or State forfeiture, or State abdication on the one side; or State rights, immortal and unimpeachable, on the other side; such discussions are only endless mazes in which a whole Senate may be lost.*" Verily, such contemptuous flinging away of States and State rights as of no better stuff than may be overlaid with cobwebs and dust—such flimsy arguments of State suicide, State forfeiture, State abdication, might, if indulged in, reduce a Senate to a lost condition. And the process of this scheme shows how readily it might be merged in a consolidated head. Here is the recipe which disposes of States and Senators, without resorting to the troublesome fiction of State suicide, State forfeitures, or State abdications.

The ukase continues: "*And in discarding all theory. I discard also the question of de jure. Whether, for example, that the rebel States, while the rebellion is flagrant, are de jure States of the Union, with all the rights of States. It is enough for the time being, and in the absence of a loyal Government, that*

they can take no part and perform no function in the Union, so that they cannot be recognized by the National Government. The reason is plain. There are in these States no local functionaries bound by constitutional oaths, so that there are in fact no constitutional functionaries ; and since the State Government is necessarily composed of such functionaries there can be no State Governments." This is summary reasoning, but it begins by a false assumption that there are no States but rebel States. Are there no States *de jure*, which have subsisted from the foundation of the Government to this hour, and the existence of which the United States are bound to guaranty and maintain, and for which it is at this moment fighting the bloodiest battles known to modern annals against the most excuseless treason and shameless counterfeit authority that ever put on the mask of Government?

It may be readily conceded that "*rebel States*" are not *de jure* States of the Union with all the rights of States, and that, "as they can take no part and perform no function in the Union, so they cannot be recognized by the General Government." But does it follow that States are wrenched from the Union because usurpers hold a disputed, tottering power within their territorial limits?—States every day recognized as States in the Union—States whose constitutional laws, archives, loyal citizens, public edifices, lands, rights, and properties of all sorts, are recognized and held sacred, not only in the hearts of loyal patriots, of this and every other civilized country, but which the Government of the nation recognises as forming a member of it in every official act, and by every officer at home and abroad who, has occasion to refer to them? More than a million of brave men have left their homes, and one hundred thousand of them, at least, have laid down their lives, to put down the conspirators and lift up the loyal men, in whose sacrifice it was designed to sacrifice the Union. Did not the flag of our country floating over their heads bear the emblem of every State of the Union in its star upon its fold?

To what purpose have our glorious soldiers devoted themselves? To destroy the rights of the true men they went to save, together with the rights of these States, consecrated to the Union by memories of the renown that belongs to our history? And on what pretext is it that States which fought the battles of our Independence—States older than the Union, and which labored in its construction, are to be disfranchised of the rights that the Union is pledged to guaranty to them under a republican form of Government as equals in the Confederation?

Congress is to take to itself parliamentary powers, disfranchise certain States, declare others to be mere Territories having no government, and this because "*there are in those States no local functionaries bound by constitutional oaths; so that in fact there are no constitutional functionaries, and since the State government is necessarily composed of functionaries there can be no State Government.*"

See what fatal results come upon the States from the want of local functionaries bound by constitutional oaths: Therefore," "no constitutional functionaries." Therefore, "no State governments;" and, finally, the want of local functionaries, bound by constitutional oaths, extinguishes the States in one-third of the Union, and their destiny is sealed with this pronouncement; "*the whole broad rebel region is tabula rasa, or a clean slate, where Congress, under the Constitution, may write laws!!!*"

It is strange that a party bases such immense power on such an immaterial fact and does not apprehend that it might be mistaken as to the existence of the fact. The States involved in insurrection have multitudes of magistrates, State and United States judges, and other sworn functionaries, ready to resume their functions the moment the rebel military duress is removed; and the whole machinery of the State government will be put in motion, by the election of representatives and all civil officers, as soon as the military power of the Union has accomplished its duties. In the mean time, are not State governments in the hands of their appropriate functionaries, bound by

constitutional oaths, when the army of the nation is in their midst? There our army and its officers are at this instant executing, in all the States proposed to be disfranchised, their most appropriate functions in breaking the rebel power and lifting up and invigorating the State authority. In this way the most potent recognition the Union can afford is given to the State governments as members of the Union.

Not only Army and Navy and President give this recognition, but Congress, in voting men and money to create this grand retinue, pays its homage to the endangered States, of whose maimed condition the ultra Abolitionists would take advantage, to reduce them to Territories and strip them of the rights of republican government. In this Congress proves its just appreciation of our Federal system as conceived by its authors. Madison in the *Federalist*, says: "*The State Government may be regarded as constituent and essential parts of the Federal Government, whilst the latter is nowise essential to the operation or organization of the former. Without the intervention of the State Legislature the President cannot be elected at all. They must in all cases have a just share in his appointment, and will perhaps in most cases of themselves determine it,*" &c.

The consequence of this doctrine imposes it as a duty on the part of the General Government to guarantee to each State, a republican form of government, which Madison says, "IMPLIES A PRE-EXISTING GOVERNMENT," of the form which is to be guarantied, and in effecting this guaranty both Madison and Hamilton unite in saying the Union may interpose in crushing the dominant majority in a State. Madison thus touches this point: "At first view it might not seem to square with the republican theory, to suppose either that a majority have not the right, or that a minority will have the force to subvert a Government; and consequently that the Federal interposition can never be required but when it would be improper. But theoretic reasoning in this, as in most cases, must be qualified by the lessons of practice. Why may not illicit combinations for purpose

“of violence be formed as well by a majority of a State especially in a small State, as by a majority of a county or district of the same State? And if the authority of the State ought in the latter case to protect the local magistracy, ought not the Federal authority in the former to support the State authority? Besides, there are certain parts of the State Constitutions which are so interwoven with the Federal Constitution that a violent blow cannot be given to the one without communicating the wound to the other,” &c. He asks again: “Is it true that force and right are necessarily on the same side in republican governments? May not the minor party possess such a superiority of pecuniary means, of the military talents and experience, or of secret succor from foreign Powers as will render it superior also in an appeal to the sword? May not a more compact and advantageous position turn the scale on the same side against a superior number so situated as to be less capable of a prompt and collected exertion of its strength? Nothing can be more chimerical than to imagine that in a trial of actual force victory may be calculated by the rules which prevail in a census of the inhabitants or which determine an election.”

Hamilton, in his paper, shows the propriety of the Union *interposing by force to protect a State government against internal foes, upon the score that usurpers, clothed with the forms of legal authority, can, “too often crush opposition in embryo.”* Against this anticipated danger he points to our happy federation of State Governments for safety. He says: “Power being almost always the rival of power, the General Government will at times stand ready to check the usurpations of State Governments, and these will have the same disposition towards the General Government. The people, by throwing themselves into either scale, will infallibly make it preponderate. If their rights are invaded by either, they can invoke the use of the other as the instrument of redress. How wise it will be in them, by cherishing the Union, to pre-

"serve to themselves an advantage which cannot be too highly prized.

And yet the Abolitionists would begin the work of demolishing this system by disfranchising and throwing out one third of the States at the very moment the Union is working out the salvation of the nation in the mode prescribed in its charter.

The Abolition manifesto protests against "the instant restoration of the old State Governments in all their parts through the agency of loyal citizens, who, meanwhile, must be protected in this work of restoration!" And why may not the loyal citizens perform this most essential and patriotic duty? "Because," adds the paper, "it attributes to the loyal citizens of the rebel States, however few in numbers—it may be an insignificant minority—a power clearly inconsistent with the received principle of popular government, that the majority must rule. The seven votes of Old Sarum were allowed to return two members to Parliament, because this place, once a Roman fort and afterwards a sheepwalk, many generations before, at the early casting of the House of Commons, had been entitled to this representation; but the argument for State rights assumes that all these rights may be lodged in voters as few as ever controlled a rotten borough in England."

The argument of Madison, which I have already quoted, vindicates the principle of the Constitution which sends the armies of the United States into a State to assert the rights of a loyal minority over an usurping majority there. But the sneer at the loyalty of the South in the suggestions of Old Sarum, as a parallel for its voters, is in every aspect unworthy and unjust. Notwithstanding the conspiracy at work in secret societies and in public bodies throughout the United States to undermine the loyalty of the South for thirty years—notwithstanding two Northern Presidents joined this conspiracy, the one wielding the powers of the Federal Government to add Kansas as a State to reinforce it, and the other sending the navy into

distant seas to give it security, and the army into the remote West to be surrendered with all posts, forts, navy yards, mints, munitions of war, custom-houses, national edifices, and wealth of all sorts, thus in fact making the nation itself the ally of treason—notwithstanding the President of the United States thus betrayed the States of the South into the hands of the conspirators with the means of the nation to strengthen them in the possession of the Government they usurped, the President declaring by message to Congress that they could not be coerced, still the traitors could not bring a majority of the voters to the polls in any of the States but South Carolina to countenance the usurpation. In Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, and Virginia a majority voted against secession in defiance both of the lurking armed conspirators that pervaded the whole South to control its will, and the insulting taunts of “*let them go*,” of the Abolitionists, who now wish to disfranchise them. Does it become any party in this country, pretending fealty to republican government, to sneer at a loyalty which has passed through such an ordeal, and which still bears up under the cruelties of an armed tyranny which has improved on its experience in the school of slavery—treating these loyal men of the South worse than slaves?

I turn from the Abolition programme to that which is presented by President Lincoln. The issue is made. We must choose one or the other. His plan is simple. He would dishabilitate the rebels, and their usurpation called a Confederacy of States, and rehabilitate the loyal men and their States and Republican Governments. To do this, we must break the power of the conspirators, crush or expel them from the region of insurrection, and restore in the persons of loyal citizens within the confines of their respective States the Republican Governments which now have their administration committed to our loyal armies and the loyal citizens who have their protection. As soon as this protection is needless, the State Governments resume their functions under officers chosen

by citizens who have been true to them, and by such others as may be comprehended in an amnesty, and who have given in a sincere adhesion to the State and the Government of the Union, and the measures taken in maintenance of both.

Missouri, whose Governor, Legislature, and Judicial officers betrayed her, expelled her faithless representatives with the aid of the Federal Government, and filled their places with loyal men, abolishing slavery as an earnest of her abhorrence of the means and the ends for which the conspirators against the Union labored. Kentucky, temporarily paralysed by the treachery of her Governor, was soon put right by the people when furnished with arms by the Government, carried to them by the lamented and gallant Nelson. In Maryland, the attempt to turn her over to the rebels was crushed by the arrest of her treasonable legislators. Virginia was overwhelmed for a time; but Western Virginia being delivered from the armed brigands, called a Convention, elected a Legislature for the whole State, (the greater part of it being still held by the rebels,) was recognized as the law-making power of the whole State, and as such divided the State, and set up a new State in the West.

This exemplifies the President's mode of saving the Union. He saves the States by putting the powers of the Government, as soon as they are redeemed, into the hands of loyal men; and then the State resumes its place in the councils of the nation with all its attributes and rights. He has signified his purpose of inviting Tennessee and Louisiana, now in preparation, to follow these examples; and every other State, as soon as they can be rescued from the rebel armies, will be aided to come in and reintegrate the grand family of Republics.

Now, what is the pretext for abandoning this safe and healing policy of the President? So far, it has worked well, and secured the approbation of all well-wishers of the country. The Abolition programme shows somewhat of the motive for converting States into Territories and

carrying them back into colonial bondage, to take law from Congress without representation. The reasons assigned are—"Slavery (says the programme) is impossible within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government. For many years I have had this conviction, and have constantly maintained it. I am glad to believe that it is implied, if not expressed in the Chicago platform. Mr. Chase, among our public men, is known to accept it sincerely. Thus slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; but, if the rebel territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government, then slavery will be impossible there. In a legal and constitutional sense, it will die at once. The air will be too pure for a slave. I cannot doubt but that this great triumph has been already won. The moment that the States fell, slavery fell also; so that, without any proclamation from the President, slavery has ceased to have a legal and constitutional existence in every rebel State."

In concert with the elaborate article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a Department organ, the *Chronicle*, at Washington, strikes the key-note of State annihilation in a leading editorial:—"There is (says this print) a conflict of authorities—of State and Federal authorities—and it is clear that one or the other must be annihilated. If the State succeeds, the Federal authority is gone forever; nothing can restore it, not even the State itself which destroyed it; for, in this case, the Federal authority would become subordinate to the State authority, and be no Government at all. For the same reasons, if the Federal authority prevails, and succeeds in putting down the rebellious States, must the State authority be destroyed." And then the case is put of the present conflict, "In which several States combine against their common Federal Government. Here the power to be overcome is not only greater, but in a moral point of view far more dangerous to the Federal Government. Hence, when such a rebellion is subdued, it is not only necessary to destroy the treasonable element in such rebellious States, but

“also the power which these States had to combine against “the Federal authority,” &c.

In conjunction with these movements at Washington and Boston to annihilate the State Governments which preceded and helped to create that of the nation itself, the coadjutors of Presidential schemers in St. Louis and throughout Missouri, are endeavoring to throw that State into the caldron of revolution, that it, too, may be annihilated or declared vacated on one or the other counts of “State suicide,” “State forfeiture,” “State abdication,” or “State vacation,” the “*tabula rasa*,” or “clean slate,” on which Congress may write the laws it pleases. Does not the extreme anxiety evinced in certain quarters in these forced efforts to prevent the States dragged out of the Union by conspirators from returning under the auspices of the President, the patriotic army of the Republic, and the loyal citizens who would, through them, maintain their own and the rights of the States in question, indicate something of a design to command a great event in prospect by revolutionary means?

Is a ban upon one-third of the States, marking them for exclusion from the Union, when treason is defeated and the traitors expelled, as just, as wise, as constitutional, as likely to end the troubles of the country, as that marked out and pursued by the President? It is manifest now that the President must steer his course through the strong conflicting tides of two revolutionary movements—that of the nullifiers, to destroy the Union and set up a Southern Confederacy, and that of the ultra-abolitionists, which has set in to disfranchise the South on the pretext of making secure the emancipation of the slaves.

The attempt of the nullifiers is rebuked from the cannon’s mouth, and the proposal of France to secure their object by her friendly mediation, is put aside by the President’s telling the Emperor he will confer with the rebels through no indirect medium—that Senators and Representatives in Congress, coming from the Southern States, and bringing with them an earnest of returning loyalty,

will be met as equals and admitted to the councils that are to dispose of the destiny of the nation. Alterations in its laws must be made by Congress; changes in the Constitution by delegations in Convention from all the States, according to the terms of that instrument. This is the final response of the President to the rebels and the French Emperor. To the revolutionary demand for the disfranchisement of the Southern States, the President's reply from his first message to the last, and in all his published letters, has been uniform. It is couched in the words I read from his proclamation: "Hereafter as heretofore the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed."

The proclamation also answers the demands for the enfranchisement of the slaves. It is conceded from the necessity growing out of the rebellion and to quell it. But it closes with this salvo for the loyal sufferers under this decisive measure: "The Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall, upon the restoration of relations between the United States and the people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed, be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves."

The issues are thus made up between the President and the rebels and their foreign sympathizers, who would revolutionize our Government to create a separate Government in the South, on the one hand; and on the other hand, between the President and the ultra-abolitionists, who would disfranchise the Southern section of the country. It is not improbable that the latter, though aiming at a different result, will be found co-operating in the end with conspirators of the South and their foreign allies. They may prefer parting with the South to partnership and equality under the Constitution.

